

This "map," prepared by Marc Smith and Andrew Fiore, shows the hierarchy of popularity of artists and types of music as reflected in the rec.music newsgroup (accessed at <http://groups.google.com/group/rec.music.info>).

music is that it diffuses primarily through electronics. In contrast, the spread of folk culture is effected through relocation diffusion, the spread of a characteristic through migration.

## The Amish: Relocation Diffusion of Folk Culture

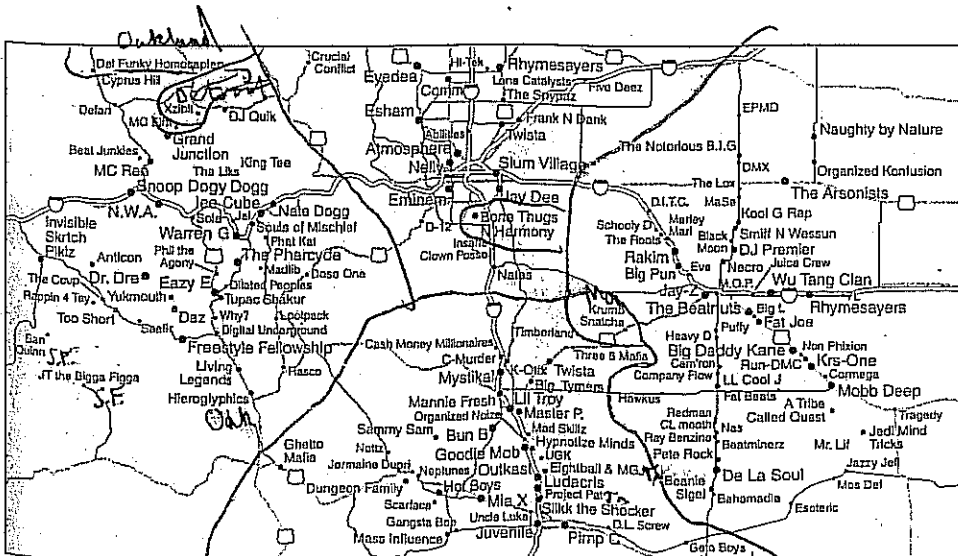
Amish customs illustrate how relocation diffusion distributes folk culture. The Amish have distinctive clothing, farming, religious practices, and other customs. They leave a unique pattern on landscapes where they settle. Shunning mechanical and electrical power, the Amish still travel by horse and buggy and continue to use hand tools for farming.

Although the Amish population in the United States numbers only about 80,000, a mere 0.03 percent of the total population,

Amish folk culture remains visible on the landscape in at least 17 states. The distribution of Amish folk culture across a major portion of the U.S. landscape is explained by examining the diffusion of their culture through migration.

In the 1600s a Swiss Mennonite bishop named Jakob Ammann gathered a group of followers who became known as the Amish. The Amish originated in Bern, Switzerland; Alsace in northeastern France; and the Palatinate region of southwestern Germany. They migrated to other portions of northwestern Europe in the 1700s, primarily for religious freedom. In Europe the Amish did not develop distinctive language, clothing, or farming practices and gradually merged with various Mennonite church groups.

Several hundred Amish families migrated to North America in two waves. The first group, primarily from Bern and the



**FIGURE 4-2** Mental map of hip hop (Dave One). The map attempts to place prominent hip hop performers in proximity to similar performers as well as in the region of the country (Northeast, South, Midwest, West) where they performed or drew inspiration.

Palatinate, settled in Pennsylvania in the early 1700s, enticed by William Penn's offer of low-priced land. Because of lower land prices, the second group, from Alsace, settled in Ohio, Illinois, and Iowa in the United States and Ontario, Canada, in the early 1800s. From these core areas, groups of Amish migrated to other locations where inexpensive land was available.

Living in rural and frontier settlements relatively isolated from other groups, Amish communities retained their traditional customs, even as other European immigrants to the United States adopted new ones. We can observe Amish customs on the landscape in such diverse areas as southeastern Pennsylvania, northeastern Ohio, and east-central Iowa (Figure 4-3). These communities are relatively isolated from each other but share cultural traditions distinct from those of other Americans.

Amish folk culture continues to diffuse slowly through inter-regional migration within the United States. In recent years a number of Amish families have sold their farms in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania—the oldest and at one time largest Amish community in the United States—and migrated to Christian and Todd counties in southwestern Kentucky.

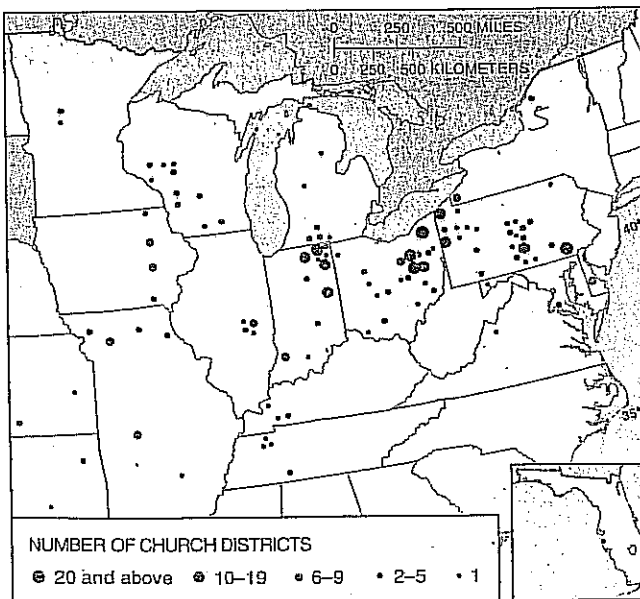
According to Amish tradition, every son is given a farm when he is an adult, but land suitable for farming is expensive and hard to find in Lancaster County because of its proximity to growing metropolitan areas. With the average price of farmland in southwestern Kentucky less than one-fifth that in Lancaster County, an Amish family can sell its farm in Pennsylvania and acquire enough land in Kentucky to provide adequate farmland for all their sons. Amish families are also migrating from Lancaster County to escape the influx of tourists who come from the nearby metropolitan areas to gawk at the distinctive folk culture.

## Sports: Hierarchical Diffusion of Popular Culture

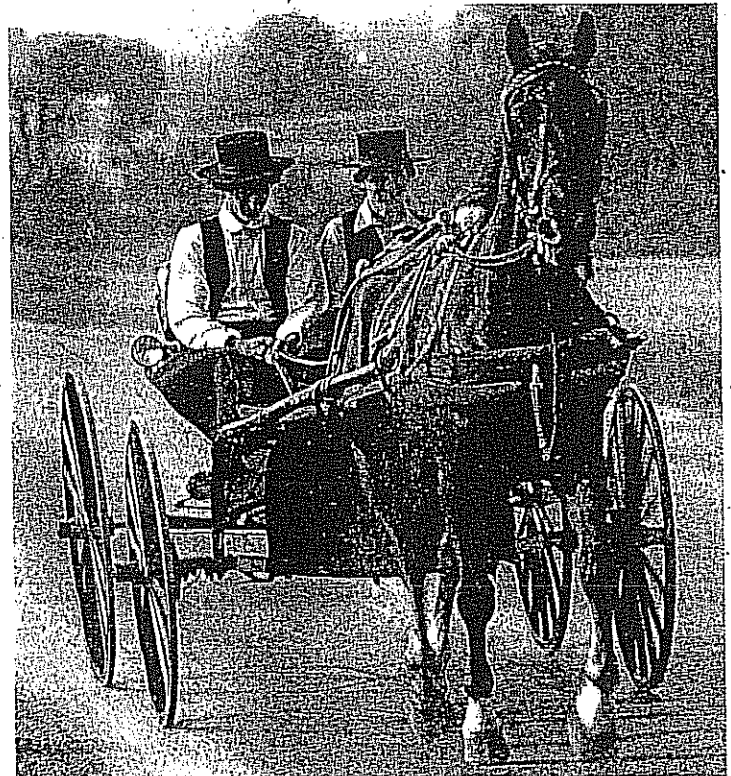
In contrast with the diffusion of folk customs, organized sports provide examples of how popular culture is diffused. Many sports originated as isolated folk customs and were diffused like other folk culture, through the migration of individuals. The contemporary diffusion of organized sports, however, displays the characteristics of popular culture.

**FOLK CULTURE ORIGIN OF SOCCER.** Soccer is the world's most popular sport (it is called *football* outside North America). Its origin is obscure, although the earliest documented contest took place in England in the eleventh century. According to football historians, after the Danish invasion of England between 1018 and 1042, workers excavating a building site encountered a Danish soldier's head, which they began to kick. "Kick the Dane's head" was imitated by boys, one of whom got the idea of using an inflated cow bladder.

Early football games resembled mob scenes. A large number of people from two villages would gather to kick the ball. The winning side was the one that kicked the ball into the center of the rival village. In the twelfth century the game—by then commonly called football—was confined to smaller vacant areas, and the rules became standardized. Because football disrupted village life, King Henry II banned the game from England in the late twelfth century. It was not legalized again until 1603 by King James I. At this point, football was an English folk custom rather than a global popular custom.



**FIGURE 4-3** Amish settlements are distributed throughout the northeastern United States. According to William Crowley, who documented this distribution, the number of church districts within a settlement indicates the relative number of Amish in the community. Amish buggies and motor vehicles must share the highway in the larger Amish settlements.



**GLOBALIZATION OF SOCCER.** The transformation of football from an English folk custom to global popular culture began in the 1800s. Football and other recreation clubs were founded in Britain, frequently by churches, to provide factory workers with organized recreation during leisure hours. Sport became a subject that was taught in school.

Increasing leisure time permitted people not only to view sporting events but also to participate in them. With higher incomes, spectators paid to see first-class events. To meet public demand, football clubs began to hire professional players. Several British football clubs formed an association in 1863 to standardize the rules and to organize professional leagues. Organization of the sport into a formal structure in Great Britain marks the transition of football from folk to popular culture.

The word *soccer* originated after 1863, when supporters of the game formed the Football Association. Association was shortened to *assoc*, which ultimately became twisted around into the word *soccer*. The terms *soccer* and *association football* also helped to distinguish the game from rugby football, which permits both kicking and carrying of the ball. Rugby originated in 1823, when a football player at Rugby School (in Rugby, England) picked up the ball and ran with it.

Beginning in the late 1800s, the British exported association football around the world, first to continental Europe and then

to other countries. Football was first played in continental Europe in the late 1870s by Dutch students who had been in Britain. The game was diffused to other countries through contact with English players. For example, football went to Spain via English engineers working in Bilbao in 1893 and was quickly adopted by local miners. British citizens further diffused the game throughout the worldwide British Empire. In the twentieth century, soccer, like other sports, was further diffused by new communication systems, especially radio and television.

Soccer diffused to Russia when the English manager of a textile factory near Moscow organized a team at the factory in 1887 and advertised in London for workers who could play football. After the Russian Revolution in 1917, both the factory and its football team were absorbed into the Soviet Electric Trade Union. The team, renamed the Moscow Dynamo, became the country's most famous, although the official history of Soviet football never acknowledged its English origin.

Although soccer was also exported to the United States, it never gained the popularity it won in Europe and Latin America. The first college football game played in the United States, between Princeton and Rutgers in 1869, was really soccer, and officials of several colleges met 4 years later to adopt football rules consistent with those of British soccer. But Harvard's representatives successfully argued for adoption of rugby rules instead. Rugby was so thoroughly modified by U.S. colleges that an entirely new game—American football—emerged. Similar modifications of football were undertaken in other English-speaking countries, including Canada, Australia, and Ireland. This complex tale of diffusion is typical of many popular customs.

**SPORTS IN POPULAR CULTURE.** Each country has its own preferred sports. Cricket is popular primarily in Britain and former British colonies. Ice hockey prevails, logically, in colder climates, especially in Canada, Northern Europe, and Russia. The most popular sports in China are martial arts, known as *wushu*, including archery, fencing, wrestling, and boxing. Baseball, once confined to North America, became popular in Japan after it was introduced by American soldiers who occupied the country after World War II.

Lacrosse has fostered cultural identity among the Iroquois Confederation of Six Nations (Cayugas, Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Senecas, and Tuscaroras) who live in the northeastern United States and southeastern Canada. As early as 1636, European explorers observed the Iroquois playing lacrosse, known in their language as *gubchigwaha*, which means "bump hips." European colonists in Canada picked up the game from the Iroquois and diffused it to a handful of U.S. communities, especially in Maryland, upstate New York, and Long Island. The name *lacrosse* derived from the French words *la crosse*, for a bishop's crosier or staff, which has a similar shape to the lacrosse stick.

In recent years, the International Lacrosse Federation invited the Iroquois nation to participate in the Lacrosse World Championships, along with teams from Australia, Canada, England, and the United States. Although the Iroquois have not won, they have had the satisfaction of hearing their national anthem played and seeing their flag fly alongside those of the other participants.

Despite the diversity in distribution of sports across Earth's surface and the anonymous origin of some games, organized



French fans (foreground in blue), German fans (waving black, red, and yellow flags of Germany), and Italian fans (background waving green, white, and red flags of Italy) celebrate appearance of their teams in the world's most popular sporting event, the World Cup, played every four years, including in Germany in 2006. The Italian fans had the most to cheer: their team beat France to win the 2006 World Cup.

spectator sports today are part of popular culture. The common element in professional sports is the willingness of people throughout the world to pay for the privilege of viewing, in person or on TV, events played by professional athletes. Competition for the World Cup in soccer is clear evidence of the global diffusion of sports. National soccer teams worldwide compete every 4 years, including in Germany in 2006 and South Africa in 2010. Thanks to television, the final match is viewed by more spectators than any other event in history.

KEY ISSUE 2

Why Is Folk Culture Clustered?

- Isolation promotes cultural diversity
- Influence of the physical environment

Folk culture typically has unknown or multiple origins among groups living in relative isolation. Folk culture diffuses slowly to other locations through the process of migration. A combination of physical and cultural factors influences the distinctive distributions of folk culture.

Isolation Promotes Cultural Diversity

A group's unique folk customs develop through centuries of relative isolation from customs practiced by other cultural groups. As a result, folk customs observed at a point in time vary widely from one place to another, even among nearby places.

Himalayan Art

In a study of artistic customs in the Himalaya Mountains, geographers P. Karan and Cotton Mather demonstrated that distinctive views of the physical environment emerge among neighboring cultural groups that are isolated. The study area, a narrow corridor of 2,500 kilometers (1,500 miles) in the Himalaya Mountains of Bhutan, Nepal, northern India, and southern Tibet (China),

contains four religious groups: Tibetan Buddhists in the north, Hindus in the south, Muslims in the west, and Southeast Asian animists in the east (Figure 4-4). Despite their spatial proximity, limited interaction among these groups produces distinctive folk customs.

Through their choices of subjects of paintings, each group reveals how their folk culture mirrors their religions and individual views of their environment:

- Tibetan Buddhists in the northern region paint idealized divine figures, such as monks and saints. Some of these figures are depicted as bizarre or terrifying, perhaps reflecting the inhospitable environment.
- Hindus in the southern region create scenes from everyday life and familiar local scenes. Their paintings sometimes portray a deity in a domestic scene and frequently represent the region's violent and extreme climatic conditions.
- Paintings by Muslims in the Islamic western portion show the region's beautiful plants and flowers, because the Muslim faith prohibits displaying animate objects in art. In contrast with the paintings from the Buddhist and Hindu regions, these paintings do not depict harsh climatic conditions.
- Animist groups from Myanmar (Burma) and elsewhere in Southeast Asia, who have migrated to the eastern region of the study area, paint symbols and designs that derive from their religion rather than from the local environment.

The distribution of artistic subjects in the Himalayas shows how folk customs are influenced by cultural institutions like religion and by environmental processes such as climate, landforms, and vegetation. These groups display similar uniqueness in their dance, music, architecture, and crafts.

Influence of the Physical Environment

Recall from Chapter 1 that environmental determinists theorized how processes in the environment cause social customs. This may sound reasonable on the surface, but most contemporary geographers reject the idea. Many examples exist of peoples who live in similar environments but adopt different

FIGURE 4-4 Cultural regions in the Himalaya Mountains. Cultural geographers P. Karan and Cotton Mather found four cultural areas in the rugged Himalayan region of Bhutan, Nepal, and northern India. Variations among the four groups were found in painting, dance, and other folk customs.

